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ABSTRACT

The libraries of Indiana, as agencies of culture, have been vitally affected by wars, cycles of prosperity and depression and by innovations in public policy at the national level of government, reflecting the history of the state. Although an overriding importance has been attached to the libraries of the state as a means of promoting the material interests of both individuals and society, adequate funding has been rare. Funding requirements in the future promise a challenge of greater magnitude as the library's traditional role of continuing education is enlarged. Libraries will be expected to provide services to cope with the increased leisure time of society and to meet the critical needs of society for an educated electorate. A listing of 126 items describes reference sources on the historical aspects of state development. (AB)

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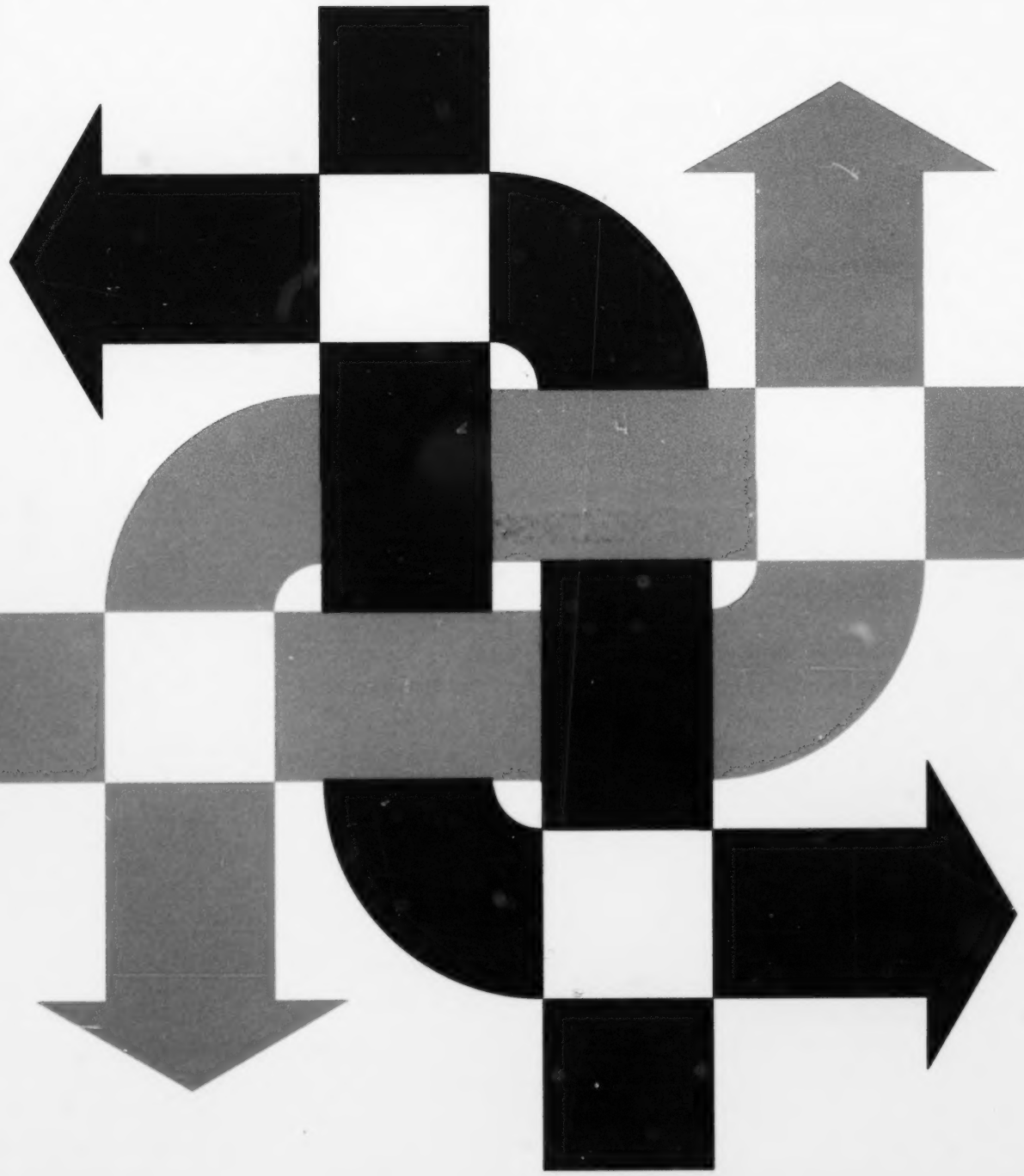

The Role of Libraries in the Cultural History of Indiana

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Indiana Library Studies

Peter Hiatt
Director and General Editor

THE ROLE OF LIBRARIES IN THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIANA

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THE ROLE OF LIBRARIES IN THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIANA

I

The briefest essay on the role which libraries have played in the cultural and intellectual history of Indiana must acknowledge the fact that any society's agencies of culture and cultural values are the products of the more general political, economic, and social environment in which they originated and have had their development. The "intellectual baggage" of the people who settled in Indiana both before and after statehood (1816) was shaped in part by their backgrounds prior to their migration to "the West" and in part by the peculiar environment of the frontier. Similarly, the cultural history of the state since the pioneer period has been essentially the impact of the environment (which has changed substantially) upon the cultural legacies of each succeeding generation of Hoosiers. The Hoosier "environment", of course, has not developed as some kind of hermetically-sealed, self-sufficient unit, immune to and isolated from the larger trends of regional, national, and international history. Instead, Indiana history closely reflects such general trends and its agencies of culture (e.g., its libraries) have been vitally affected by wars, by cycles of prosperity and depression, and by innovations in public policy at the national level of government.

II

When Indiana entered the Union in 1816 its geographic location placed it astride several of the major routes of the "Great Migration," which reached flood proportions in the years following the War of 1812. In part as a consequence of migration from the older states of the Union and from abroad and in part as a result of a high birth rate among its early settlers, Indiana's population rose from about 65,000 at the time of its admission to 147,000 in 1820. The population doubled again (to 685,000) between 1830 and 1840. Thereafter, the rate of increase declined somewhat and the 1860 census listed the population of Indiana as 1,350,000. In a bit more than four decades the state's population had become roughly 20 times its 1816 size.[1]

For the purpose of cultural history the composition of this "population explosion" was more significant than its sheer volume. To the French-speaking stocks at places such as Vincennes and Vevay were added thousands of immigrants from Germany and Ireland and England and tens of thousands from New England, the Middle States, Ohio and the South. The 1850 census disclosed that, in Indiana's population of 988,416, a total of 55,537 had been born abroad and 398,695 had been born in some other state of the Union.[2] At the time of the Civil War there was a larger Southern-born stock in the Hoosier population than in any other Northern state,[3] a fact of some consequence in both our political and our cultural history.

The pattern of "cultural pluralism" (melting pot is no longer a universally "in" term), which was well established in the pre-Civil War period, was sustained in the post-war era. Scores of thousands of immigrants from Europe and from other states of the Union (including a large number of Southern Negroes) came to Indiana, most often to fill jobs in its mills, mines, factories, and transportation system, but not infrequently simply to escape conditions prevailing it their native lands and states.

The cultural dividends of the steady flow of immigrants into the state can only be suggested. The varieties of people who came to Indiana brought with them varieties of religious beliefs and social theories to which they adhered with tenacity and zeal and, especially in the antebellum period, sectarian zeal was largely responsible for the founding of the state's colleges and academies. Such schools commonly provided libraries for their "scholars", as did the Sunday schools which proliferated during the period and were similarly a reflection of religious zeal. Thus in the census of 1850, 85 "Sunday school libraries" with 11,265 volumes were reported in Indiana, which listed a total of 151 libraries in its returns for that year. On the other hand, it should be added that religious zeal sometimes led to opposition to tax-supported, publicly controlled education on the grounds that such "non-sectarian" education would be deficient in moral content, too secular, and too materialistic.[4] The environment of cultural pluralism was congenial not only to the 15 "major and minor sects" mentioned in the census of 1850; much earlier, in the 1820's and 1830's, it had accommodated one of the most famous experiments in 19th century social history at New Harmony, a prototype of communal living in which "unorthodox" educational and cultural theory and practice abounded. It cannot be said that Indiana demonstrated a strong inclination to adopt New Harmony as a model for its own cultural development, but a widely quoted history of education in Indiana, noting the failure of New Harmony, adds that "upon the ruins rose the Pestalozzian School of [Francis Joseph Nicholas] Neef, which more than compensated Indiana for the loss [of New Harmony], in the ...resulting greater honor and really large and substantial services to education."[5] Furthermore, it was a New Harmony alumnus, William Maclure, who made the most generous single gift to Indiana libraries in the 19th century, and the ideal and reality of public, tax-supported education in Indiana are intimately associated with the name of Robert Dale Owen, who taught at New Harmony and whose father was the abortive settlement's chief benefactor and promoter. A generation ago, in arguing for the

position that Indiana indeed had a cultural history, Daniel S. Robinson noted that the special schools for the very young in New Harmony--they were called "infant prisons"--represented an innovation in education which antedated by 30 years the importation of the "kindergarten" movement from Germany to the St. Louis school system.[6] More recently, Indiana's literary "Renaissance" of the late 19th - early 20th centuries has been explained in part by the "stimulation to ideas and expression of the New Harmony experiment in the 1820's and 1830's."[7] In short, the mixtures of people in Indiana, those of religious zeal who founded colleges and academies and those of rather less religious zeal (by contemporary, orthodox standards) who labored at New Harmony, contributed in their ways to "Hoosier" culture.

It should be added that the evolution of "cultural pluralism" in Indiana has not been an unbroken record of painless assimilation of new peoples, whose potential contributions were consistently viewed in the list of Christian brotherhood and liberal humanitarianism. Putting aside the eviction of the Indian population, the fact that Hoosiers have shared with the people of other states (and nations) periodic upheavals of nativism, xenophobia, and racism is clear enough. Article XIII of the Constitution of 1851, which prohibited Negro immigration and declared contracts with Negroes to be void, was adopted by a majority of 91,873 Hoosiers in a total vote of 135,783, and state legislation under the new Constitution which affected the Negro (in schools, for example) reflected the prevailing public attitude until the Reconstruction era.[8] The inroads made by the American (Know-Nothing) Party in the 1850's and the American Protective Association in the 1890's, the power wielded by the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's, and certain more recent developments in the state's political history, have all helped to demonstrate the point that the advantages of an open, pluralistic society such as Indiana's are not won without the friction and abrasiveness created by the rubbing together of peoples of diverse origins and goals.

III

The broad pattern of Indiana's economic-demographic life until well into the 20th century was foreshadowed in the Census Report of 1820 which, in a total population of 147,178, listed 62,315 engaged in agriculture, 429 in "commerce," and 3,229 in "manufactures." The state was still classified as "100% rural" in the 1830 census and no city of 10,000 people or more appeared in the Indiana returns until the Census of 1860. The 1920 census for the first time listed the "urban" population of the state as somewhat larger than the rural population but much of the "urban" population of the state resided in towns and cities which, in fact, reflect a predominantly rural value system, a condition which was built into the political system itself by the failure of the state legislature to reapportion itself in accordance with the Census returns between 1920 and 1960. In the latter year, the Hoosier population was described as 62% "urban" and the Reapportionment Act of 1965 attempted to alter the most glaring inequities which had arisen from non-reapportionment.

Starting as an overwhelmingly agricultural state, in which corn and hogs and timber products accounted for a large part of its productivity, Indiana's economy has evolved into a genuinely diversified one. Thirty-eighth among the states in size and 11th in population, Indiana is ranked 8th in industrial production and 11th in agricultural production.

In a sense both the rural nature of much of Indiana's history and the diversification of its economic life have had a profound effect upon the state's cultural developments in general and upon its libraries in particular. In Indiana (as elsewhere) the scattered, isolated population, combined with primitive transportation facilities, retarded the kind of accumulation and use of books which a more urban society can afford. Devotion to units of government created in a rural,

agricultural society played a part in the controversy over "consolidated" (county-wide) libraries which was no less bitter than the one which raged in the area of school consolidation. After two decades of such controversy the passage of a county library law in 1917 by the state legislature was hailed as a landmark in public library extension in Indiana since "those interested in the library development of the state as a whole have for many years realized that universal library service would never be a possibility under the township plan."[9] But a full decade later readers of Indiana's professional librarians' journal were being reminded that "motor transportation and good roads" and the adoption of county-wide libraries (beyond the 13 counties which had taken advantage of the 1917 law) gave "the best assurance of a future when libraries will most completely adequately meet the needs of the people of our state," 30% of whom "still have no local library service."[10] On the eve of World War II a writer in Library Occurrent attributed the small number (7) of county library consolidations during the preceding decade to the fact that "the depression intervened and library development as a result had to wait until a more favorable time for tax support,"[11] but the history of such consolidations in the last 3 decades suggests that tenacious loyalty to patterns of government established by a rural, farm society has been no small factor.

The possibility that qualitative as well as quantitative differences in library service may arise from rural-urban environmental differences was suggested by a study which appeared recently in Focus on Indiana Libraries. In a survey of the acquisition and disposition by 170 Indiana libraries of a select group of "controversial books" (politically or sexually oriented) the researchers concluded (while conceding that several relevant factors were not "weighted" in their study) that in Indiana "the size of the population served by the library rather than geographic location is of over-riding importance as a determining factor in attempting to predict whether a given library unit might tend to be permissive (positive) or

rigid (negative) in its approach to political and sexual writings." The study accounted for the fact that "District I," which included roughly the Northwestern 1/16 of the state, scored highest on the test of making controversial material available in its libraries on the grounds that "it includes more large library units than other districts do." It appeared, concluded the study, that "a library patron will have twice as good a chance of his librarian trying to make available controversial material, both political and moral, if he happens to reside in a library district serving over 30,000 than if he lives within a unit serving under 3,000."[12]

If Indiana's libraries have been vitally affected by the frictions created by a traditionally rural society gradually being urbanized, they have no less felt the impact of an overwhelmingly agricultural economy steadily becoming diversified through a greater degree of agricultural specialization and through industrialization, commerce, and the growth of economic services. Writing in Library Occurrent before World War I, G. M. Frier, who was employed by the Purdue University Department of Agricultural Extension, noted that "under present day conditions" Indiana farmers needed "assistance and direction in pursuing studies and reading courses that will put them in touch with the best methods and practices being employed in farming and the principles underlying them." Why, he asked, "might not the public libraries...be of service in this development of Indiana agriculture?" Each public library should "secure a full line of agricultural books," farmers "young and old" should be encouraged to use them, and the "assembly room" of the public library should become "headquarters" for farmers' clubs, through which "modern techniques...in soil, crops, live stock and other phases of agriculture" would be disseminated. Such library services rendered to farmers "are the least a library can do for agriculture in each community."[13]

Serving the needs of a purely agricultural society which was awakening to

the need for scientific farming ("book farming," it was called)--given the revenue available, which will be discussed later--must have seemed a challenge to many a Hoosier librarian in 1912, especially when similar demands arose from the expanding world of business and industry. Librarians, it was insisted, should recognize that "industrial education is simply another part of the movement toward the democratization of education" and that "the boasted free schools were only giving an unsatisfactory training and giving that to only about ten percent of those who need education." Therefore, librarians in Indiana should follow the example of the Boston Public Library, which established blue-print reading classes for plumbers' apprentices, by "finding out exactly what is wanted by the men and boys who are following a certain trade" and then supplying their needs. While they were at it, librarians should also, "in the way of vocational guidance furnish definite information about the requirements, advantages and enrollments of each trade and calling, practiced in the town" and "collect every trade catalog, every bit of biographical material, and every transient publication descriptive of the town's industrial life."[14]

Nor were the libraries' services to be confined to the needs of farmers and industrial workers. "Business men and the public libraries have both been at fault," declared John Cotton Dana in a speech reprinted in Library Occurrent, "for the fact that business men do not use libraries more in solving their business problems." Citing with approval the example of German businessmen, who had "learned that they must read if they are to keep up," Dana noted that American businessmen were not "taught in school that they need to use print to keep posted, just exactly as do lawyers and doctors" and that "our libraries, being burdened by an academic or 'scholarly' inheritance, have been unable to see that business is a very important part of their field of usefulness and that they ought to work it, and work it persistently." While businesses were "setting up special libraries

with experts in charge," public libraries were urged to acknowledge that "business is a part of their domain."[15] The editor of the Indianapolis Star was even more explicit on the need for "practical" services to be rendered by libraries. "The time was," he recalled, "when public libraries were regarded rather as fountains of culture than as sources of material power,...as things for the exclusive use of bookish people, ...as an 'influence' for betterment, without any very precise notion of how the betterment was to be achieved." Then, however, came the business-man-type librarian who, "if he couldn't attract the men,women and children of his community with what he had in stock, got other books." In that way librarians had "made their books not intellectual playthings but positive helps ... for ambitious young men ...factory foremen, ...not a few superintendents, ...and some general managers." Librarians, continued the editorial, "are serving a utilitarian end with a constantly growing number of people," and while "the literature of knowledge is good, the literature of power--dollar-making power--is not to be condemned."[16] The libraries of Indiana, it can be seen, have had to demonstrate strikingly protean flexibility in their efforts to serve a society which has evolved from an agrarian frontier to an "industrial commonwealth."

IV

The intimate relationship which has existed between Indiana's social and economic history and the development of such cultural agencies as libraries has a parallel in Hoosier political history. The dominant Jeffersonian Republicanism which prevailed in Indiana politics during the territorial and early statehood periods found partial expression in the 1816 constitutional provision for a public school system and for a county library system. As will be seen below, realization of mass culture for Hoosiers lay in the second half of the 19th century, but the earliest governors of the state regularly urged action by the state legislature to make a beginning, at least, toward the Jeffersonian dream of an "educated electorate." Books, Governor James Brown Ray told the legislature in 1826, "are the records of man's mysterious but exalted character" and "states, particularly republican ones, should provide themselves a library system whenever their means will justify."[17] Governor Ray's successor, Noah Noble, informed the legislature in 1832 that there were "not less than one hundred thousand children, of suitable age" in Indiana who were denied access to books and schools and who, "for the want of a knowledge of the principles of our government, not fully appreciating its blessings, became instruments in the hands of demagogues and tyrants, to dishonor its form."[18] The fact that such Jeffersonian arguments for supporting a democratic culture were not monopolized by Jeffersonians and their Democratic descendants in Indiana was established by the Whig editor of the Vincennes Gazette who wrote that "an institution like this [i.e., the Vincennes Library Company] is important in a community of free and enlightened people where every citizen hopes, and has the right to expect, to see his children capable of holding public office, and becoming not only useful but prominent men."[19]

Since the emergence of the Whig-Democratic rivalry in the 1820's and 1830's and the Democratic-Republican party rivalry of the 1850's, keenly contested

two-party politics have been a passion for Indiana's people and must surely be considered an important part of their intellectual stimulation. Discussing Indiana's "lively politics" in the 19th century, Howard H. Peckham noted that "out of all the differences [among Hoosiers] came talk, endless talk. In a mixed political and religious atmosphere the Hoosier was forced to define his position and maintain it. He learned how to express himself." Acknowledging that "free public schools were shamefully lacking in the state," Peckham believed that the Hoosier "hunger for knowledge sought satisfaction through libraries and cultural or literary clubs."[20] In general, Indiana's voters have remained loyal to one of the two major parties, which have, in turn, retained such loyalty, in part at least, by a willingness to "borrow" ideas from third party movements and by making the use of political patronage both "an art and a science." Until 1897, a man who held the position at the time recalled, "the office of State Librarian in Indiana, as in many other states, was what is called a political plum" and the problem was compounded in Indiana "because of the almost perfectly balanced strength of the two political parties."[21] Writing of the same period, Mary Eileen Ahern recalled that, while working at the Peru High School (before the period of her notable service to Indiana's libraries), she had seen "how inappropriate, futile, and uneconomical it was for an instrument of education and intellectual development such as a library to be used as a shuttle-cock in the political game of battledore."[22] In the collection of material for this essay, the writer has been told by professional librarians that the complete separation of library services from political patronage was not realized until well into the 20th century.

Hoosier devotion to the two-party system and the "general moderation" of our political history should not conceal the fact that intense political differences--some of them genuine ideological differences--have existed and that libraries have inescapably been affected by them. Perhaps the best recent example of the sort concerned the issue of "federal aid" to public libraries. During the Depression Indiana libraries have received "federal aid" from agencies such as the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Works Projects Administration. When

the library work of W. P. A. in Indiana was completed in February, 1942, Library Occurrent described that work as "an important contribution" which "during an emergency period when library budgets had been drastically cut ... enabled libraries not only to carry on when the demands for their services had increased many fold but also to undertake many new enterprises usually considered impossible even in normal times." W. P. A. projects in local history, library extension, indexing of holdings, and work for the blind were listed as the kind of services "undertaken during the Depression ... which will be of permanent constructive value."[23]

During the 1950's, however, the kind of federal aid for libraries contained in the Library Services Act of 1956 became the subject of a general political controversy in Indiana in which librarians were keenly interested and libraries were clearly affected. The law at issue authorized an annual expenditure of $7,500,000 for the decade 1956-1966 for the "extension of public library service in rural areas." It involved also a formula for "matching funds" from state and local units of government and required the state governments which participated to designate a state agency to administer the funds. In general, opposition to the measure stemmed from "a strong and very honest aversion to federal aid in any form" and the "rather prominent sentiment in the state against 'federal aid' based on the fear of 'federal control.'" Statements supporting the measure commonly mentioned the overriding need for rural library services, under whatever auspices, and the related idea that it was "fair and reasonable that a share of the large taxes which Indiana sends to Washington should be returned to benefit the people of Indiana."[24] While Congress was considering the Library Services Bill in 1956 the Indiana Library Association and the Indiana Library Trustees Association conducted a poll among 2,415 librarians and trustees "to obtain individual opinions for or against the federal bill." In the responses (returned by 43% of those polled), 253 librarians (61%) favored the bill and 178 (39%) opposed it; 164 trustees (29%) favored it and 414 (71%) opposed it,

and altogether those polled were divided between 447 (43%) who favored it and 592 (57%) who opposed it.

Whatever effect a reconciliation between the views of the librarians and those of the trustees might have had, the issue was decided ultimately at the highest level of the state government, but only after the "ideological gap" had been painfully exposed. The incumbent governor at the time of the passage of the Library Services Act, George Craig, indicated a willingness to cooperate with the program by naming the Library and Historical Board as the Indiana agency responsible for administering it. Craig's successor, Governor Harold W. Handley, who took office in January, 1957, notified the state Attorney General on April 25 that year that it was "the policy of this office to be opposed to Federal Aid in any respect and for this reason I am opposed to ... and am not approving the participation of the State Library Board in the Federal Aid Program." Governor Handley added that his decision was reached, in part, after he learned that "the members of the (1957) legislature refused to consider legislation on this same point" and that he did not "feel in a position to do by executive order what the Legislature refused to do in its capacity."[25]

If the position taken by Governor Handley seemed to reflect the majority opinion expressed by the library trustees in the poll mentioned above, just so did that of Handley's successor, Governor Matthew W. Welsh, appear to represent the majority opinion of the librarians revealed in the same poll. In March, 1961, Governor Welsh (who had taken office two months before) announced his willingness to accept the funds provided by the Library Services Act, and named the Indiana Library and Historical Board as the state agency to receive and administer such funds. In a speech in Indianapolis before the "first Governor's Conference for improving library service in Indiana," which was held in September, 1961, and attended by both librarians and library trustees, Welsh noted that Indiana "early recognized the im-

portance of the library in the republic" and described the library as "the least expensive, most democratic, most independent source of information, education, re-education, and continuing education that man has yet devised." As for the matter of "federal aid" which he had accepted, Welsh assured his audience that it would involve "no interference with our Hoosier tradition of home rule," and that his decision had rested on the realization that "by not accepting this money (about $400,000 for 1961-62), more than $700,000 was drained from our state income tax money, and given to other states to spend on their libraries, just because we would not accept the return of our own money."[26]

In short, if, as Governor Welsh suggested, libraries have played an important part in the history of "the republic" and of "democracy" in Indiana, it is no less true that the political institutions and traditions of the republic have powerfully influenced the past and present status of the state's libraries.

Finally, any mention of the manner in which political practices and traditions (and ideology) have affected Indiana's libraries should include the fact that libraries have been sensitive not only to such influences on the state level, but that the broader trends of national history have similarly made special demands on Hoosier libraries. Thus, the major wars of the twentieth century have presented Indiana's librarians with new challenges and subjected them to peculiar pressures. Shortly after our entry into World War I, an event which was described in Library Occurrent as"an unprecedented opportunity for the library to prove" that it was "an integral part of public education...and take its rightful place in the community," libraries throughout the state joined the "war effort" through a broad-gauged program which involved collecting books for camp libraries, publicizing government programs for food conservation and "conscription," preserving "every possible bit of information" related to each local community's "part in the war," encouraging lectures in support of the government war-time programs, and making available "cheerful helpful books for those who have sons and relatives at war, or who otherwise need cheer."[27]

Similar and even broader activities were carried forward in both World War II and the Korean War, and, during the latter, it was noted that wars affect not only the budgets of libraries and the services (by then) "expected" of librarians, but also such factors as the age groups of the principal borrowers. In the 1941-42 period and in the opening months of the Korean War there was a "startling...decrease of use by adults offset by a greatly increased juvenile circulation." The writer attributed these trends in circulation to war-time "mobilization and industrial speedups" and he was led "to the conclusion that libraries are being affected by current world and national events."[28]

Wars have also tended to aggravate a problem which librarians seem destined to confront endlessly and about which their professional journals and associations regularly indicate deep concern. "Every librarian hates censorship," declared a statement of policy issued by the American Library Association's Committee on Intellectual Freedom during World War II, and while censorship is not exclusively a war-time concern of librarians (alas!), the passions and emotions of war seem to lend themselves more readily to movements and programs designed to "prevent others from reading what they themselves disapprove of."[29] At a meeting of Indiana librarians held in Evansville during World War I, those present were urged to take an active part in "formulating public opinion" by, among several other things, "removing all pro-German, pacifist, and disloyal books and pamphlets from the open shelves" and "emphasizing books which stimulate patriotism and courage."[30] During the past generation, World War II, the Korean War, and the intellectual atmosphere generated by the "Cold War" have assuredly done nothing to lessen the zeal of individuals and groups determined to "prevent others from reading what they themselves disapprove of," a fact attested to by the constant need felt by the professional associations of librarians to erect adequate defenses against "the

increasing attacks from persons who wish to use the library as an instrument of their own tastes and views."[31] As recently as the Spring of 1967 one Indiana county (Jay) responded to the "constant harassment of public library officials" by adopting a policy which requires the "complainant" against a certain book to identify himself and the groups he represents and to complete a questionnaire, the answers to which attempt to "require complainants to do a little thinking and soul-searching."[32]

If wars have left their mark upon Indiana's libraries, both quantitatively and qualitatively, it is no less true that national economic cycles of prosperity and depression have had a similar impact - a "Panic of 1819" no less than a "Great Crash" in 1929. The former nearly destroyed the first library incorporated in Indiana, the Vincennes Library Company which was chartered in 1806, by drying up its revenues from membership fees, fines, and donations. Without such revenue and in the absence of any public support, the Vincennes library narrowly escaped the destiny of scores of such organizations in the 19th century, and its recovery mirrored very closely the general economic recovery from the depression which staggered the West following the "Panic."[33]

Similarly (albeit a century later), the "good times" of the 1920's saw a "remarkable expansion of Indiana's libraries and an increase in the demand for books." In the six years from 1923 to 1929 there was "an increase of 1,531,328 volumes in the public, society, and school libraries of Indiana," which represented "a percentage increase of 50.3."[34] The onslaught of the Great Depression, however, brought with it a decade and more of "the handicaps due to tax reductions." Librarians may have taken heart from the message of a speaker at their annual Indiana Library Association Conference in 1932 who seemed encouraged by the fact that "the reading rooms of many libraries have been crowded as never before," to the point that many libraries "last winter found it necessary to establish a time limit in its reading rooms...and to ask the readers who <u>had enjoyed the luxury of a</u>

chair for an hour to give place to another."[35] Indiana's librarians, furthermore, may have subscribed to "A Librarian's Credo in Times of Economic Stress," which was recited at the same meeting and contained the sentiment that "libraries have won first rank as essential agencies of relief and rehabilitation in a time of economic and social distress," but the hard fact was that state and local tax revenues underwent a drastic decline and Indiana's libraries suffered as a consequence. In 1932, salaries for Indiana's public librarians totaled $925,854; in 1934, the total was $710,000 and during the same period the money spent on books and magazines dropped from $314,315 to $219,547.[36] There were some minor variations among Indiana cities, but the general pattern was the same: Jeffersonville's library budget dropped from $4896 in 1932 to $3878 two years later; Terre Haute's declined from $50,316 to $30,116; Indianapolis' fell from $394,612 to $336,332.[37] The "News Notes from Indiana Libraries" section of Library Occurrent told the dreary tale: "The Butler library will open this year only 3 afternoons and evenings each week"; "the Monticello library will have no evening hours"; "the Wabash library board has voted to close the public library indefinitely beginning May 1st."[38] In a real sense, then, in national war and peace and in economic sickness and health, the history of Indiana's libraries has served as a sensitive barometer.

V

It seems clear that, as agencies of mass culture, Indiana's libraries have of necessity been inextricably bound to the general patterns of the state's population mix, its demographic changes, its economic evolution, and the peculiar flavor of its politics. Given the complexities of such varied "determinants," what, then, has been the status of the library during a century and a half of Hoosier development? One thing is perfectly clear: the historical line tracing the status of Indiana libraries is an erratic, sometimes broken, one, and the goal of genuine public acceptance and support (in forms other than rhetoric) lies in the future. As a working arrangement, the history of Indiana libraries may be divided into two broad periods, the first running from the territorial period down to the 1890's and the second, "modern" era running from the 1890's to the present. During the first of these periods the people of Indiana experimented with a variety of private, quasi-public, and public libraries which collectively rendered enormously valuable service to three or four generations of Hoosiers but in the end failed to meet the essential needs of a society, at once more literate and more demanding of services than preceding generations.

It is understood,of course, that for the first generation or two of Indiana's people the ownership of books and the support of libraries (as of schools) were considered desirable by a limited number of men, mostly recruited from the "business and professional" classes of the small towns and cities. For the vast majority of the people, preoccupation with getting a living - clearing the land, harvesting crops, in the early years keeping an eye on the Indians - and the isolation of rural life tended to re-inforce a sentiment, not uncommon among frontier people in the early 19th century, that books and libraries and schools were ornamental at best and at worst might become "excuses" for the imposition of hated

taxation. As "badges of the patrician classes" libraries and schools bore the additional stigma of class resentment and hatred.[39]

From such attitudes contemporaries (among Easterners, in particular) concluded that "Westerners" were "anti-intellectual" and culturally stunted. As it happened, few Western states prior to the Civil War gained a wider reputation for intellectual and cultural retardation than Indiana. The grounds for such a reputation rested in part upon demonstrable evidence and in part upon observations biased by religious, economic, and political resentments and interests. In the 1840 census returns Indiana was listed as 16th among 23 states in literacy, with "38,100 white persons (14%) over 20 years of age who cannot read or write" and 10 years later the census showed Indiana with "72,710 adults in the state who cannot read or write" out of a population of 988,416, or 23rd among the 26 states of the union. The Indiana public school law of 1849, which Caleb Mills hoped would alter the state's reputation as "the most ignorant free state in the Union," was bitterly opposed by Hoosiers who believed that publicly controlled, tax-supported education would "make education too common," "promote priestcraft," "rob the industrious citizen to favor and support the indolent," or "make our children unfit for honest work." In the referendum held on the "free school" program embodied in the law, "the affirmative vote stood 78,523; the negative 61,887," a result which was later described as "a victory, but chiefly because it was not a defeat."[40]

Without benefit of such statistical evidence regarding the status of education and literacy in Indiana, ante-bellum contemporaries railed against the ignorance of the "low-born eastern people" and the "slave state people" (who were particularly blamed) who had migrated to Indiana and become "Hoosiers," people of

"no enterprise, no good society, and no intelligence." Henry Ward Beecher, one-time editor of the Indiana Farmer and Gardener, recalled Indiana in the 1840's as "a great State" but one "with little representation," whose people were "more vigilant of each other, than of schools, mechanic arts, agriculture, and the actual Commonwealth." In such writings, Indiana's population was commonly described as "most heterogeneous," a "heterogeneous mass," and "a crude, raw mass," and it was "the strangest mixture" one Easterner had ever seen. Indiana's social order was "in an unfortunate state, composed of persons from every part of the Union," in the view of one writer, and another described its early settlers as "backwoodsmen and second-rate settlers," compared with the types who settled in Pennsylvania and Ohio.[41]

As agencies of culture, then, libraries in Indiana were forced to overcome the usual obstacles confronting such agencies on the frontier and, if the implications of both documentary evidence and contemporary opinion are to be credited, certain special obstacles peculiar to Indiana. In a manner of speaking, the very first step toward overcoming such obstacles was taken by the men who poured into Indiana prior to its admission to the Union and who brought with them both books and a respect for learning. Such a man was William Clarke who died in 1802 while he was serving as the first Chief Justice of Indiana Territory and left in his "estate" a private library of about 100 volumes, composed largely of the works of the giants of English jurisprudence (Coke, Blackstone, et al) but including also volumes on history, surveying, mathematics, and political theory.[42] Such a man, too, was Governor Harrison who occasionally published a notice in the Vincennes Western Sun, requesting that "those persons who have borrowed books from me, please return them."[43]

Such private libraries, of course, were limited in size and in the number of men who possessed them, and they failed to satisfy the need for books, even in the

earliest years of settlement. The need was filled, in part at least, by resort to an idea which was also part of the "intellectual baggage" of the Easterners and Southerners who migrated to Indiana Territory: the subscription library.

Franklin's Junto club is credited with originating the subscription library in America in the 1730's and, despite some terrible losses sustained by most such libraries during the American Revolution, the idea was being widely used in the Atlantic seaboard states by 1800, soon enough for the immigrants to Indiana to have been thoroughly familiar with it. There were certain local variations of such libraries as they were organized in Indiana, but the one founded at Vincennes may be taken as a prototype.[44] The Vincennes Library Company was chartered by the territorial legislature and formally organized in 1806 (the same year, incidentally, in which two other "agencies of culture", Vincennes University and the Western Sun, were founded). The men who organized the library and kept it going during its early years were from the "business and professional" classes and to that extent it may be said to have been a rather exclusive organization. But with the passage of time (by the end of the War of 1812, or, roughly at the time of Indiana's entry into the Union) the membership was expanding to include farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, hat makers, tailors, masons,and a wide variety of members of other trades and crafts, and in the period of its greatest "utility" (Franklin's term describing such organizations) the "common sort" of members were found to be using the book collection quite as much as the "better sort." Moreover, by the 1830's, the books of the Vincennes Library Company had been made accessible to non-members by a "rental library" system in which the payment of a small fee entitled one to borrow from the collection.

The acquisition by the company of some 1700 volumes by 1850 was accomplished in one of three ways: by purchase, using the funds raised by the members' $5.00 share fees and by fines; by accepting books in lieu of money purchases of shares; and by

the donation of books to the library, occasionally by willing them. By far the largest number of books were acquired by purchase which in the early years (until the 1820's) required having them brought back from book dealers in Philadelphia or Baltimore or Washington by a Vincennes merchant, who would conduct his own and the library company's business on a trip to one or the other of those cities. By such men and such means was the first quasi-public library in Indiana begun. It was described in the 1820's by a local resident as "the first and probably the best institution of the kind in the state," and in the 1830's by a visitor as "unquestionably the best miscellaneous library west of the Allegheny mountains," this latter by a man who claimed that he had "seen a great number of public libraries on this and the other side of the Atlantic." The Vincennes Library Company was the first such organization and it may have been the best in Indiana, but there were soon very similar ones founded elsewhere in the state, including one in 1825 in the very small village of Bruceville, whose Library Company was launched by purchasing duplicate copies of books from the Vincennes Library Company. Professor Buley believed that "by 1840 practically every town of 1,000 to 1,500 population either had or had tried to have a subscription library."[45] It seems no inordinate expression of state pride to point out that the founding, survival, and multiplication of such organizations in Indiana under the most difficult conditions hardly supports the sweeping indictment of the "Hoosiers" of the period as "anti-intellectual ... people of no intelligence and no learning."

Indiana's "public" libraries, properly speaking, may be said to have had their origins in the state's constitution of 1816 and in an act of the legislature that year which provided for the establishment of "association" libraries, which were much like the "subscription" library described above. In section 5 of the 1816 constitution there was included a provision that "the General Assembly, at the time they lay off a new county, shall cause at least ten percent to be reserved out of the proceeds of the sale of town lots in the seat of justice

of each county for the use of a public library for each county." The provision further instructed the General Assembly that, when such new counties were created, a "public library" should be incorporated in each.[46] Under this mandate the legislature in 1818 began the incorporation of "county" libraries (beginning with Dubois county), whose only source of support was the revenue from the sale of lots. There was considerable enthusiasm for these libraries at the outset (most counties boasted one by 1830) and the "president and seven directors" who governed them and were elected every three years were generally prominent men. The Indiana Journal described the one in Indianapolis (Marion County) as a "good thing" because "a reading and industrious community is very apt to be a moral and religious community."[47] In Terre Haute, an attorney, John Britton, permitted his office to be used as the county library, and as librarian he occasionally notified readers of the Western Register that the "Public Library" was open to "citizens of the county of Vigo ... each day in the week (Sundays excepted) between the hours of 10 and 12 a.m. and 2 and 4 p.m."[48] A decade later John Jenckes who was a pioneer settler in Terre Haute, its first circuit court judge, and a member of the Indiana senate, noted in a letter to his future wife back in Providence, Rhode Island that the county library in Vigo county contained "700 to 800" volumes, most of which he had personally purchased on trips to the East with "money from the county library fund." On another occasion Jenckes acknowledged receiving $200 from that fund in payment for books purchased by him for the library, and he claimed that "every county in Indiana" had such a library.[49] The records of the county library in Hancock County reflect a trend which was very common among those libraries founded under the 1818 law. During the 1820's and 1830's while the "ten per cent funds" were still available, the library trustees were regularly elected and any vacancies were promptly filled by the board of county commissioners, books were regularly purchased and a librarian supervised their acquisition and circulation. However, in the 1840's,

the books "gradually disappeared and were lost." The Census of 1850 reported 200 volumes in the library and the following year the board of commissioners received a report that the "library consists of scattered fragments" and that it was "in an impoverished condition."[50] The failure of the county libraries created under the legislation of 1818 was perhaps inevitable when one considers the fact that the law made no provision for financial support beyond the funds realized from the sale of lots in the county seats. Such funds, even when they were properly received and expended, provided only short-run support for the library. As it turned out, "the reservation of the tithe was not always made; in some instances it seemed not to have been officially reported, in others the funds merely lay unused."[51] By 1850 the weak financial position of these first county libraries, combined with such circumstances as the limited leisure time of the population, the condition of the roads, and the distances to the county "seat", resulted in their being "either closed finally through neglect, or merged in later years with more prosperous organizations."[52] It will be seen later in this paper that, toward the end of the 19th century and during the early years of this century, professional librarians and others returned to the idea of county-wide libraries as the best means of bringing books within the reach of the largest number of people in the state.

The willingness of the state legislature to sanction (but not to support) libraries in the earliest years of statehood was apparent in "An Act for the incorporation of public libraries" which was passed by the General Assembly in 1816. This law provided that the inhabitants of a city, town, village, or neighborhood, upon raising by subscription the sum of $100.00, could establish a "public" library which was to be supported only by an annual "tax" of $1.00 (maximum) per share to be levied on the members. The legislature later (1843) reduced the subscription fund from $100.00 to $50.00, perhaps in the hope that the reduction would encourage the founding of more such organizations. At least one writer

detected a moral to be pointed in the requirement of a $50.00 subscription fund. "A library may be started for $50.00 and ... in our own state, it costs $50.00 to start a Liquor Saloon (i.e., to get a license)," he noted, and "respectfully submitted that if a community can support but one of these, it would better support the library." One library, he was sure, would "contribute more to the peace, prosperity, purity and intelligence of a community than ten saloons."[53] By the middle of the 19th century, then, the state legislature had authorized two types of "public" libraries, the county libraries and the "subscription" libraries, neither of which was supported by taxation. The Census of 1850 listed 58 "public libraries" in Indiana, with 46,238 volumes for a population of 988,416, a statistic which was no more encouraging than those dealing with illiteracy or the number of students attending school.

One law passed by the Indiana General Assembly in 1837 has been called "the first of a series of steps taken toward what was to become eventually a public library in the sense that we know it today - publicly established, governed, and supported." As part of an education act in 1837 the legislature authorized "any school maintaining school at least three months a year" to levy an annual tax of $20.00 upon the property owners of the district for the support of a library--if the majority of the voters in each district approved such a levy. The libraries established under this act were to be open to students, their teachers, and the parents and guardians of the district, and the law may be considered prophetic on several counts: it recognized the library as a part of the educational system; it placed the responsibility of support and control on the local unit of government; and it permitted the use of the library by people other than "the immediate school population."[54] There is no evidence that any libraries were actually founded under the 1837 law but it is noteworthy, nonetheless, because it looked ahead to the day of genuine "public" libraries which would be supported by taxation.

In addition to the books made available to them by the county libraries and by the "subscription" or association libraries, early Hoosiers had access to the collections assembled by the various churches as part of their "Sunday School" programs. The Indiana Sunday School Union was formally organized in Indianapolis in 1827 and its declared purpose was to "pave the way for common schools and serve as a substitute for them till they are formed." In the following years the Union established book "depositories" throughout the state and encouraged local churches to organize libraries for which the Union supplied not only guidance in the form of library rules and regulations but "books at reduced prices." The Census of 1850 listed 85 "Sunday School" libraries in Indiana with 11,265 volumes. Toward the end of the century Jacob P. Dunn, who was serving as Librarian of the Indiana State Library, looked back on the Sunday School libraries with great affection and appreciation for their "enormous influence for good." They were, he said,"a veritable rain of manna in the desert," and he "safely ascribed much of the intelligence and much of the virtue of the people of later generations" to their influence. The books circulated by the Sunday School libraries, Dunn concluded, had "repressed the swelling tide of ignorance, given occupation to idle minds, and inculcated lessons of morality and industry" and had "repaid a thousand fold all the labor and money expended in securing them."[55] As mentioned earlier, the varieties of religions in Indiana and the zeal of their supporters played an important part in containing, and eventually reducing, the numbers of Hoosiers who were "growing up in great ignorance and thus preparing for great wickedness."

One law, which was ultimately to be of greater significance in the history of Indiana libraries than any of the above-mentioned legislation, was passed by the General Assembly on February 11, 1825 and laid the foundation for the Indiana State Library. The 1825 act provided that the books then in the office of the secretary

of state and others to be added through subsequent appropriations should be converted into a "state library" to be used by the members of the General Assembly, the secretaries and the clerks of each house, executive branch officers, and various judges and officers of both the federal and state courts.

Until after the middle of the century the state library made only halting progress in the face of an imposing set of obstacles. Until 1841 the secretary of state served as ex-officio librarian at the salary of $15.00 per year and with annual appropriations for the purchase of books which started at $50.00 per year and gradually rose to $100.00 then to $200.00 per year. With such an incentive and such limited funds it should not have been surprising that in 1841 the collection had only about 1,000 titles.

In 1841 the General Assembly passed a new act which removed the state library from the jurisdiction of the secretary of state and created a "full time" librarian who was to be elected for a 3 year term by members of the legislature. The act also authorized an annual $400.00 appropriation for the purchase of books and an annual salary for the librarian of $300.00. One suspects that the "job specifications" for the position of librarian were very broadly drawn, since within a decade he was expected, among other things, to take "proper care of the books, preserving them from moulding and from moths," dust the carpets in the legislative chambers, mend the fence and gates around the state house square, and mow the lawn (and "apply the grass to his own use"). Under such circumstances it was perhaps only the dedication of such men as John B. Dillon, Indiana historian and one of the earliest elected librarians, which made possible the survival and limited growth of the organization. In 1849 the collection of books had grown to 16,554 and within a decade following the passage of the basic law in 1841 the number of people entitled to use the library had been enlarged to include newspaper editors, clergymen,

physicians, "professors and teachers in all the institutions of learning in the state," and attorneys.

Despite the regular salary and the slightly larger appropriation granted in the law of 1841, it is an inescapable conclusion that for nearly half a century following the passage of the 1841 act the legislature denied anything like adequate funding to the state library. In 1854 the librarian, Gordon Tanner, asked (in vain) for an increase in salary, pointing out that "the duties of the office have been quadrupled" and that "the necessaries of life have doubled in price." In time the salary was increased, to $800.00 in 1859, to $1,200.00 in 1865, and to $1,500.00 in 1889,[56] but the annual appropriation of $400.00 for the purchase of books remained unchanged until 1889. Writing in his History of Education in Indiana in 1892, Richard G. Boone noted that the state library "contains about twenty-five thousand volumes" and that "valuable as the library is, it has never received more than the scantiest support." Boone noted that "of all the states in this section [i.e., the Old Northwest] the Indiana library has received least recognition." While Michigan had been making annual appropriations of $3,000.00, Illinois of $2,500.00, Wisconsin of $2,000.00 and Ohio of $1,500.00, "Indiana has been working along on $400.00 a year," Boone declared, and he added that "with meager support, infrequent additions, and insufficient assistance, the usefulness of the library has been greatly diminished."[57]

Boone's lament for the state library toward the end of the century was joined by other Hoosiers of his generation who had been similarly disappointed by the results of two major attempts to expand library services in the state--one through the use of state tax money, the other through funds made available by private philanthropy. In 1852 the General Assembly, acting under the state's new constitution (1851) and responding in part to the exhortations of Caleb Mills and others, enacted a general revision of the school laws of the state, including a

provision for township libraries. These libraries, described by one authority as "the first public libraries in Indiana,"[58] were funded by a state-wide tax of a quarter of a mill on each dollar of property taxable for state purposes and a poll tax of twenty-five cents. The proceeds of the tax (nearly $300,000 in the three levies of 1853, 1856, and 1866) were to be "applied exclusively to the purchase of Township Libraries, under the direction of the State Board of Education" and the local "charge" of the township trustee. The law specified that "every family in the township shall be entitled to two volumes at a time, from said library, whether any member of such family shall attend school or not."[59]

In the dozen or so years following the passage of the 1852 law the state Superintendents of schools administered the distribution of 690 "libraries," with about 300 volumes in each, to townships throughout the state and in 1857 Caleb Mills reported that "the people of the state eagerly devoured the feast set before them." The enthusiasm felt by Hoosiers for their township libraries is revealed both by contemporary records and in the reminiscences of the men and women who took part in the "feast," which included nearly 100 "children's" books; a "particularly complete and satisfactory" selection of history, biography, and travel; a large number of self-help manuals (especially in education); and a collection of belles lettres. Superintendent Mills reported in 1857 that the circulation records of "many townships show that the number of books taken out in twelve consecutive months is equal to from one to twenty times the entire number in the library, a case perhaps without a parallel in the history of popular reading." Mills felt that the township libraries had "imparted a fresh impulse to the reading spirit of the communities that cluster around them" and that "the merchant and the farmer, the mechanic and the physician, the lawyer and the preacher, the youth in his teens and the sire in the evening of age will find something to amuse, entertain, and instruct in these collections."[60] Mills' successor as Superintendent, Samuel Lyman Rugg, reported that in many townships

"individuals have read nearly or quite every book in the library and call loudly for more." While noting that "in some of the communities a few of the books have been objected to on account of their alleged sectarian bias, and for that reason the libraries have been somewhat neglected," Superintendent Rugg nonetheless believed that the township libraries had "done much to enlarge the measure of general intelligence amongst the mass of our people and to form habits of reading and studiousness in the young people of the state."[61] In connection with the "general intelligence" of Indiana's people at the time, it is not demonstrable, but seems probable, that the reduction of the number of adult illiterates in 1860 to 62,000 in a population of 1,338,710 owed something to the spread of the township libraries. The intervention of the Civil War and the fact that no new books were added to these libraries for nearly a decade would explain the gradual decline in readers in the early 1860's (89,969 volumes circulated in 1865, 84,957 in 1866), but the hunger of Hoosiers for the "feast", using Mills' term, was clearly evident when the books purchased with the money raised by the final levy in 1866 were distributed to the libraries. Superintendent Barnabas Coffin Hobbs noted that after the libraries were "replenished" in 1867 the number of volumes circulated rose from 84,957 in 1866 to 126,653 in 1867, and to 140,279 in 1868. "The reading was nearly doubled," the superintendent said and he added that "we must increase the relish for them by regular additions."[62]

Many years after the township libraries had declined and nearly disappeared altogether men and women regularly recalled the intellectual boon they had been to the communities they had served. Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, a Hoosier who achieved national fame as a scientist during the Progressive era, recalled to an audience in Washington in 1928 the "privilege" of reading "the histories, the literary works, and the scientific volumes" available in his township library. Dr. Wiley believed that "these peripatetic libraries did more to develop the eminent writers,

professors, teachers, historians, and politicians, for which the state subsequently became so renowned, than any other educational force."[63] Writing in The Forum in September, 1891, John W. Bookwalter, whose "boyhood was spent on a farm in the Wabash valley," remembered that he was "still agitated with the boyish delight of learning and full of eager curiosity when the township libraries of Indiana were established" and he prayed that "every blessing may rest" upon the man who was responsible for their establishment:

> How many rainy, how many long winter evenings, how many noon hours, did I spend in poring over the Abbot histories, the narrations of travel, and those books in which scientific principles were properly explained! The recollections of the vast benefit and pleasure I derived from that little library - a mere handful of books - to which I trudged a long distance through rain and snow to get an occasional coveted volume, leaves the firm conviction in my mind that the benevolence and wisdom of man cannot devise a more beneficent instrumentality than some general scheme whereby instructive and entertaining books may be made readily accessible to the youth of the rural portions of our country.[64]

As librarian of the Indiana State Library (1889-1893) Jacob P. Dunn earnestly sought the restoration of the by-then defunct township libraries. "Whenever you find a well-informed man who lived in Indiana between 1855 and 1870, you always find a man who patronized the township libraries," Dunn declared, "and he will tell you that he profited much by them."[65]

Despite the apparent popularity of the first public, tax-supported libraries, their tenure was brief and their failure not hard to describe. Fundamentally, they failed because they were starved for funds. After the "replenishment" of 1866-67 no additional public monies were provided them and an act of the General Assembly in March, 1867 provided that any funds then in the superintendent of public instruction's "library fund" be "diverted to the erection of the Normal School at Terre Haute." Scarcely less calamitous for these libraries was the provision of the 1852 law which placed them under the supervision of the township trustees. As early as 1866 George W. Hoss, who was editor of the Indiana School Journal, complained that "many

trustees have been neglectful" in advertising the location of the library and "inviting a free use of the books by the various citizens of the township." Moreover, many trustees had "inconveniently located the library, thus lessening its use and its usefulness."[66] In his report for 1870, Superintendent of Public Instruction Hobbs noted a decline in both the total number of volumes and the circulation of books in the township libraries. Only "about one-half of these libraries are in a good state of preservation," Hobbs stated, and to prevent their further "neglect," he recommended "a more complete and stringent law regulating the responsibility of the Trustees in their preservation."[67] The trustees may have had neither the time, nor the training, nor the inclination to reverse the decline of the township libraries, but additional money was needed, in any case, and it was not forthcoming. Contemporaries added other reasons for "the failure of the old township library." The books were "chosen for scholars, or at least for well read persons, but the people were not educated up to it." What was more, it was "too inconvenient to travel an average of six miles for books, so people were obliged to forego the use of the library."[68] As mentioned above, there was some sectarian resentment against the libraries and some resentment against them arising from the fact that the system, in full operation, served only 690 of the state's then 938 townships, a situation which resulted from the peculiar (and as it turned out highly illogical) wording of the 1852 law.[68a] In any case, in a special study of libraries in the United States, published by the Department of the Interior in 1876, Indiana's township libraries were described as having "declined," with only 2,510 volumes having been added since 1867 and the number of books circulated having dropped to "only 85,366."[69] "They have died," Jacob P. Dunn wrote in the following decade, "of starvation and neglect" and Richard Boone noted in his History of Education in Indiana in 1893 that "for twenty-five years nothing has been done

either to improve these libraries or to utilize the books now owned by them ."[70] The "failure" of the township libraries must be qualified: they did, after all, provide more than a quarter of a million books to scores of thousands of readers in Indiana at a time when such a service was plainly needed and used, and their brief existence led men like Jacob P. Dunn to conclude that it was "not the libraries which were defective. It was the system that was defective; and the reasonable action to be taken is not the abandonment of libraries, but the amendment of the system."[71]

At nearly the same time that the township library program was launched in Indiana, the state received a second library "feast" from the bounty and generosity of one of the most fascinating figures in 19th century American intellectual history, William Maclure. Maclure was born in Scotland in 1763, amassed a fortune before he was 35, was naturalized as an American citizen in 1803, and spent most of the rest of his life pursuing a variety of intellectual interests, including the publication of a major work, Observations on the Geology Of the United States (1818), which earned him the reputation as the "father of American geology." Maclure's interest in the cultural affairs of Indiana dated from the 1820's when he was instrumental in bringing the "boatload of knowledge" to New Harmony, where he experimented with Pestalozzian educational theories ("teaching atheism," a contemporary called it) and founded the New Harmony Disseminator to which he contributed essays on a striking variety of subjects until his death in Mexico in 1840. Among legacies to a number of cultural agencies and enterprises, Maclure's will, dating from 1839, provided for bequests of "Five hundred dollars ... to any institute, club or Society, who may establish in any part of the said U. S. a reading and lecture room, with a library of at least one hundred volumes," with the stipulation that membership in such "societies" be restricted to "the working classes, who labor with their hands and earn their living by the sweat of their brow ...."[72] Beginning in 1855, when legal obstacles had

finally been cleared, the first of the 146 Maclure libraries in 89 Indiana counties received its five hundred dollar bequest. Contemporary and later critics of the Maclure libraries have noted that the men who "labored with their hands" frequently organized themselves into "workingmen's institutes" (or whatever name) with unseemly haste in order to qualify for the five hundred dollar bequests and that the books assembled in the libraries (before and after the bequests) were carelessly chosen, seldom borrowed, and soon damaged or lost. Such a view of the Maclure libraries was shared by Jacob Dunn whose essay on Indiana libraries appeared in 1893 and by Richard Boone whose History of Education in Indiana appeared in 1892, but a more recent study by Frances H. McBride concludes that the "real value of the Maclure experiment in libraries was the distribution of over seventy-two thousand dollars worth of books at a time when books were needed in pioneer Indiana..., a philanthropy [which] implanted the idea of the need for public libraries." In Historic Indiana Julia Henderson Levering recalled her trips to the "dingy office of the township trustee" where the "Maclure benefaction" was located and expressed a "grateful sentiment" toward it. "Nibbled by mice, mutilated by careless hands, many of the volumes lost, and more of them unreturned by previous readers, the old library was but a tattered ghost of William Maclure's intention" but Mrs. Levering felt nonetheless that it had been "a means of inspiration and culture to many men and women in the frontier communities, who thirsted for culture."[73] In 1920 Kate Milner Robb recorded a similar "childhood joy" in visiting the Maclure library in Rockport and reading "the long rows of titles on the dignified calf-bound volumes," on the fly leaves of which "enthusiastic readers scribbled opinions [which were] contradicted by another reader equally enthusiastic - the controversy ending only with the supply of fly leaves."[74] The failure of the Maclure executors to require some guarantee of sustaining funds by the "societies" which accepted their bequests was perhaps the fatal flaw of the system. At any rate a national survey of American

libraries, cited above, briefly described "the liberality of William Maclure" and reported that "with two or three exceptions, these libraries have been unfortunate, and many of them have become extinct."[75] By the turn of the century a handful survived, including the New Harmony Workingmen's Institute Library, but the books of most had been lost, taken over by school and other libraries, divided among the memberships, or were being used "to prop up decrepit bureaus or serve some other utilitarian purpose."[76]

In a report drawn up for the State Superintendent of Public Instruction during the winter of 1892-1893, Jacob P. Dunn, the librarian of the Indiana State Library, described "five distinct library movements in progress in Indiana today." They included a "religious movement," chiefly the Sunday-School and Young Men's Christian Association libraries, which was "still fairly important but [had] lost the aggressive character it had originally"; a "school movement," a "product of the necessity for a certain supply of reference works in school work"; a "reading circle movement," which included about 8,000 teachers in the Indiana Teachers' Reading Circle; a "college movement," born of the "realization by men in higher education that the college's interests will be promoted in every way by its library"; and a "public library movement," represented by the town and city libraries, which Dunn called "the only genuine public libraries ... which are assured of permanence and are usually conducted on an approved library basis." Most of the city and town libraries of the state at the time had been founded and operated under acts of the General Assembly dating from 1871, 1873, 1881 and 1883, which together authorized the levy of taxation for the support of libraries either by local school boards or by the common councils of the localities.[77] At the time of Dunn's report a score of such city and town libraries were in operation, ranging in size from the one in Indianapolis which reported about 50,000 volumes and an annual circulation of 265,000 to the one in La Porte which reported 5,000 volumes.

Richard Boone, writing his history of education in Indiana at this time, estimated that there were "about one hundred thousand volumes ... in the town and city libraries of the State," and described them as "centers of a wholesome influence, and efficient reenforcements of the public schools."[78] In the summary of the above-mentioned report, Dunn declared that Indiana was among the states that "still lag behind" in the public library movement, but he felt also that the state's "day of regeneration is not far off" because "the people are ready for the reform." All that was needed was "a little awakening of sentiment, a little guidance, and a little care" and Indiana would join such states as Massachusetts, New Jersey and Ohio which were adopting "genuine free library systems."

VI

As it turned out, the tenure of Jacob P. Dunn as librarian of the Indiana State Library (1889-1893) and his prophecy that Indiana's "day of regeneration" in respect to its library system was "not far off" may be taken for the purposes of this essay as the beginning of the "modern" era of Indiana library history. The "regeneration" may be attributed both to certain general cultural developments and to rather specific changes affecting the state's libraries. While Dunn told the second annual meeting of the Indiana Library Association in 1893 that he did not "find much that was gratifying" to report to the members in attendance,[79] there were at work already, or soon to be operative, certain trends and factors which might have substantially brightened his perspective. By 1890 Indiana's illiteracy rate, alarmingly high at mid-century, had declined to 6.3%. It was to drop to 4.6% in 1900 and to 3.1% by 1910. In the single decade, 1900-1910, while the state's population increased by 9.7%, its rate of illiteracy declined by 32.6%.[80] In 1897 the Indiana General Assembly passed an act which required every child in the state "between the ages of seven and fourteen" to attend a "public, private, or parochial school ... for a term not less than that of the public schools of the school corporation where the child resides," and the child labor law of the state, prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen, was designed to "assist in the execution of the compulsory education law." In a "High School Statistical Summary" published in 1903, 763 "commissioned and noncommissioned high schools in Indiana having two or more teachers" were listed and they graduated 4,440 students in 1903.[81] Whether through "compulsory" attendance at one of the state's "common" schools or through voluntary attendance at its growing number of secondary schools, Hoosiers were being given "the power to use books," especially by those "intelligent and progressive teachers" who understood that "a good school library is absolutely indispensable."[82]

The "taste for books" was being developed and sharpened by still other circumstances. By the last decade of the century Indiana had entered wholeheartedly into the Reading Circle and Library Club movements. The Indiana's Teachers' Reading Circle was organized at the 1883 meeting of the state teachers' association in Indianapolis and from the outset "very fully justified the efforts made to improve the professional spirit among the teachers of the state" by engaging them in "the study of real literature rather than about literature" through local (usually county) clubs. By 1888 membership in Indiana's Teachers' Reading Circle reached about 7,000; at the turn of the century it stood at 13,274, "every county in the state being represented."

An offshoot of the Teachers' Reading Circle, the Young People's Reading Circle was organized in 1887 by a committee of the state teachers' association for the purpose of placing "the general reading of the half million children of the Indiana public schools under competent guidance and control." At the turn of the century of "560,523 children of school age ... more than 200,000 were members of the Young People's Reading Circle," to remain eligible in which the members read "books of fiction, travel, biography, science, nature study, poetry, and history," whose quality was "subjected to [local teachers'] scrutiny as to whether they were artistic productions, worthy as literature, [and] beautiful expressions of truth." In 1903 the state superintendent of public instruction reported "a grand total of 466,613 books now in the young people's reading circles' libraries ... an average of 5,071 for each county. The highest number owned by any one county is 16,369; the lowest 631."[83] In estimating the significance of the Teachers' and the Young People's Reading Circles a contemporary declared that the former brought "culture and professional knowledge systematically within reach of the most isolated teacher" and that the latter had "made it possible for more than two hundred thousand children of Indiana to read the newest and best child's literature."[84]

"Literary clubs" and "literary societies," commonly but not exclusively restricted to women memberships, were a part of the national cultural phenomenon which had overtones of "self-help" and feminism during the last quarter of the 19th century, and Indiana appears to have been specially fertile ground for the planting and vitality of such groups. With rather informal organizations, membership requirements ("a number that can conveniently assemble in a parlor of ordinary size"), and formats for their meetings, the literary societies spread throughout the state in the 1870's and 1880's and were described as "one of its pleasantest and most successful methods of self-improvement."[85] To what degree these societies were causes and/or effects of the state's literary Renaissance is not easily determined, but of their appeal and popularity there can be small doubt. "In almost every neighborhood enough persons can be found to form a reading club or literary society," the Indiana School Journal observed in 1877 and the following year the editor of that publication believed that every "town or city in the State with a population of 2000 inhabitants or more, ... and many smaller places, even country neighborhoods" had organized one. "Literary clubs," he added, "have become the fashion. Two acquaintances of mine recently counted fifty in Indianapolis that they know of. This must result in more general intelligence."[86] Though never a member of one of the literary societies in Indiana, Julia Henderson Levering considered "the woman's literary club ... desirable and valuable" for "the interchange of thought and the intellectual stimulus of contact of mind with mind" which they made possible. She acknowledged that the clubs had been satirized ("little shafts of wit"), but she insisted that they had played a genuinely significant role in "the progress of the State" and listed "among other measures emanating from the union of the literary clubs ... the passage of the law in 1899 creating the [Indiana] Library Commission."[87]

Mrs. Levering might have added that, a full decade before the passage of the 1899 law, the literary societies and clubs, along with the Indiana Historical

Society, the Central Labor Union, and other groups, had been instrumental in securing legislative action which ultimately was to be of profound importance in the "regeneration" of the state's library system. By an Act of the General Assembly in 1889 the Indiana State Library, which had been running on a $400.00 annual appropriation for a generation, received a $5,000.00 appropriation for one year and "an annual sum thereafter of $2,000.00." The same law raised the salary of the librarian to $1,500.00 a year (later in 1903, to $3,000.00 a year) and relieved him of the janitorial duties previously assigned him. With more adequate funds, under the guidance of a series of able librarians (Jacob P. Dunn, 1889-1893; Mary E. Ahern, 1893-1897; William E. Henry, 1897-1906), and removed from the political patronage system by an act of the legislature (1897), the state library embarked on a program of expansion of both the quantity and quality of its services, which in the 20th century have seen it evolve from a library used chiefly by state legislators and other specified (by law) groups "when residing in Indianapolis" to a genuine multi-purpose, state-wide circulation, reference, and research institution. The major landmarks of the 20th century history of the Indiana State Library - the beginnings of state-wide circulation (1903), the program for the blind (1905), the archives collection and the legislative reference bureau (1906), the transfer of administrative control to the newly created Indiana Library and Historical Board (1925), the dedication of the new State Library building (1934) and many more - deserve detailed analysis and description elsewhere. Here it must suffice to note a paradox: the state library was recently the subject of a special issue of Focus on Indiana Libraries (September, 1968), in which, on one hand, the countless services of the staff were generously acknowledged by a broad sampling of patrons from throughout the state while, on the other, the lead article of the issue disclosed that budgetary restrictions had stunted the library in respect both to the quality of services rendered and in the "ability to attract and keep professional librarians," and the

theme of that issue of Focus was Can Our State Library Survive? The crisis suggested by that title could not have come as a surprise: in 1930 a writer in the Indiana Magazine of History remarked that "the State Library ... has never been adequately supported" and that "it has been much easier to build library buildings (though that has been hard enough) than to obtain the means with which to supply the shelves of such buildings."[88] Twenty years later much the same judgment was passed respecting the support given the agency. "Indiana is far down the list of states in terms of support given the State Library," it was observed in Library Occurrent in December, 1950 and the writer based his opinion on a recent study which suggested an annual budget for the state library of $1,100,000 when it was actually receiving $160,000.[89]

Despite the limitations and restrictions under which it has operated the Indiana State Library has nonetheless played an important role in providing some of the "guidance and care" which Jacob P. Dunn suggested in his essay in 1893, and other organizations and agencies, founded in the decades which bracketed the turn of the century, have played similar roles. Those decades witnessed a sharp national upturn in the "organization and professionalization of culture" and Indiana's libraries were to be both directly and indirectly affected by the trend. Thus, in 1891 a small group of librarians, answering "a call sent out from the State Library," met in Indianapolis and organized the Indiana Library Association whose membership, according to a constitutional revision made in 1896, was "limited to active librarians residing in the state." For three quarters of a century the Association has worked to keep alive "sentiment" (Dunn's phrase) for the state's public libraries. In cooperation with the literary societies and clubs it helped persuade the General Assembly in 1899 to create the Indiana Public Library Commission, thus inaugurating its continuing role of actively seeking greater public support for Indiana's libraries. Among its members it has labored to create "the library spirit," (as it was called in the

1890's) by insisting upon the introduction and maintenance of professional standards of training and performance, standards which were set for an earlier generation by the Winona Technical Institute at Indianapolis, whose first class was graduated on June 8, 1906 following a one-year training program,[90] and are now sustained by fully-developed academic programs leading to baccalaureate, master's, and doctoral degrees from several of the state's colleges and universities. By and large, the members of the Indiana Library Association have had to find the reward for their services to the state's cultural development in ways other than material ones. In their annual meeting of 1907 the organization's Committee on Salaries reported that "young women trained in the work at the best library schools were employed ten hours a day, sometimes doing all of the work of the library alone ... and were receiving not more than $40 a month, some of them but $35."[91] Fully a half century later an I. L. A. "subcommittee on salaries" recommended for "head librarians, with a college and library degree," whose libraries served a population of 10,000 - 25,000 people, an annual salary of $4,160, "or an hourly rate of $2.00 an hour." The subcommittee added that the "salaries are suggested as guides" only, and that "in no sense are they intended to be mandatory for any library, but rather to indicate that in these times of dire shortage of competent personnel adequate salaries, somewhat comparable to those paid in other fields, are needed if Indiana libraries are to provide good good service."[92] One goal set by the Indiana Library Association as early as 1906 - that of bringing the salaries of professional, "college-bred" librarians up to par with salaries earned by public school teachers - remains unfulfilled for most members of the Association.

During the first 25 years of the 20th century a significant share of the "care and guidance" provided Indiana's libraries came from the Indiana Library Commission, an agency of the state government created by the General Assembly in 1899. From the outset the Commission, one of whose members was Jacob P. Dunn, undertook a broad program which within a decade made it a "recognized authority

in dealing with questions pertaining to library organization, buildings, administration, library science, traveling libraries, and library-school cooperation."[93] One of the Commission's staff, the "library organizer" whose salary of $1,000 a year was authorized in 1901, began "a systematic program to extend library privileges to all of the people of the state" by visiting localities which expressed an interest in creating libraries, consulting with the local people involved, and advising them in respect to the legal, building, and other problems involved. The Commission's periodical, Library Occurrent, became an authoritative organ of interest and information for the librarians of the state (and a rich vein for research into the state's library history). In a report to the Indiana Library Association meeting in 1907 the secretary of the Commission reported that, in the 8 years since its formation, the number of "county seats without public libraries" had been reduced from 47 to 31, and the number of librarians who had "attended an accredited library school" had been increased from one in 1899 to 142 in 1907.[94] One innovation of the Commission, the "traveling libraries," attracted national attention and was warmly received by Hoosiers with "a taste for books." The first of these collections of books (usually including forty titles) was sent out by the Commission in 1899 and within a decade nearly 200 were in circulation among "any 5 or more persons" in "farm homes, country schools, Sunday schools, clubs and reading circles" who requested them. In 1906 the Commission reported that it was sending out "163 libraries to about 200 different associations," the "only expense [being] the prepaid roundtrip express rate, which ranges from 60 cents to $2.00."[95] At the completion of the Public Library Commission's work (its functions were transferred to the Indiana State Library in 1925) it was described as having "filled a great place in the state in reaching out to small communities and little neighborhoods and in helping struggling libraries." Altogether it had circulated "over seven hundred thousand volumes to nearly thirteen thousand associations" throughout the state and, before it ceased functioning as a

separate state agency in 1925, it had begun a program of "organizing and establishing standards" for the state's public schools.[96]

The period during which the Public Library Commission carried forward its work (1899-1925) coincided roughly with the crucial years in which the public library system of the state secured a permanence made possible both by private philanthropy and by public policy. The motives behind Andrew Carnegie's benefactions to the libraries of the world have been a matter of speculation and fascination to at least two generations of cultural and intellectual historians and to Carnegie's critics and defenders, but their significance in the library history of the United States in general and of Indiana in particular hardly seems debatable. Beginning in 1881 with a gift of a library to his birthplace, Dunfermline, Scotland, Carnegie (and later the Carnegie Corporation) gave some $56,000,000 to build 2,509 libraries, many of which did (and do) not bear his name but did bear the architectural imprint of his secretary, James Bartram, who is said to have "eliminated at least some of the non-functional aspects of the late nineteenth century public architecture" in his own designs.[97] Altogether 1,681 "Carnegie Libraries" were built in the United States, and in Indiana there were 156 such buildings completed, from grants totaling $2,503,665.[98] Beginning with Crawfordsville, whose "offer of funds" ($25,000) was accepted in 1901, Hoosier cities and towns eventually (by 1917 when the program was discontinued) built "a larger number of the libraries than any other state,"[99] their total nearly accounting for 10% of the number built in the United States. With only a few exceptions Hoosiers willingly accepted the grants (which ranged from $5,000 in the case of Monterey to $100,000 in the case of Indianapolis) and the obligations to provide a site for the libraries and a promise (never tested in court) "to appropriate annually from tax funds at least ten percent of the amount of the gift to maintain a free public library." In 1920, by which time all but a few of Indiana's "Carnegies"

had been completed or at least funded, a report from the Public Library Commission noted that "Indiana may be justly proud of the good record with reference to the keeping of the pledges made by 150 odd libraries in the State to the Carnegie Corporation," but that "it cannot boast an absolutely clean sheet," since "four libraries [Memom, Kingman, Pierceton, and Tell City] are reported by the Corporation as delinquent this year."[100] In 1910 there were listed by the Public Library Commission 125 "public" libraries, 73 of which had been built with Carnegie funds, and twenty years later of 220 "public" libraries, 156 were listed as "Carnegies." By the latter date, moreover, the roughly $2,500,000 received by Indiana from the Carnegie funds was equal to 50% of the total amount of tax money raised in the state for the support of libraries during the preceding 30 years.[101]

The Carnegie "benefaction" was sometimes criticized for encouraging local governments to overcommit themselves in taxing policy in order to receive their grants; it was said that the policy of "establishing so many autonomous library units eventually retarded the organization of a more functional type of co-ordinated service;" and there was some resentment against the architectural uniformity imposed by the Carnegie Corporation after 1910. But during the "Carnegie Centenary" in 1935 there was an impressive outpouring of gratitude from libraries throughout Indiana reflecting a belief that "the myriad of libraries scattered throughout the state was a necessary first step in creating a generation of library users willing to vote local and state funds for improved services."[102] At the time of Carnegie's death in 1919, a writer in Library Occurrent noted that "the strong library law under which most of our libraries are organized was enacted the year when Mr. Carnegie's first library gift was made to an Indiana library" and it was his opinion that "the knowledge that such donations were available as well as the good legislation and the activities of the [Public Library] Commission that has given Indiana its rank in the library world."[103]

Perhaps the first of the "good laws" dating from the period during which

the Carnegie funds were available was the Township Library Act passed by the General Assembly in 1899. Throughout the 1890's a controversy had raged in the state between supporters of "township libraries" and advocates of "school district libraries," the former arguing that school districts were too small to sustain an adequate library and the latter arguing that the township libraries were "proven failures" and that school district libraries would be more conveniently located, therefore more useful and used, than the township libraries.[104] Finally in 1899 the General Assembly passed an act which permitted the voters in each township to establish a "free public library," which was to be funded by a levy of "one-fifth of a mill on each dollar of taxable property" and governed by a township library board composed of "the school township trustee and two residents of the township to be appointed by the Judge of the Circuit Court (one of whom shall be a woman)."[105] The 1899 act marked a revival of the township library system, whose origins in the 1850's have been noted above. Stimulated no doubt by the 1899 act and by the possibility of acquiring funds from the Carnegie program, the township library movement was "institutionalized" in 1909 with the founding of "an association to be known as the Indiana Library Trustees Association which is to be independent of the Indiana Library Association."[106] The new organization was destined to play an important part in the expansion and preservation of the township library system of the state.

Even more significant among the "good laws" of this era was the Towns and Cities Libraries Act of 1901. Essentially this law authorized the common council of any city or the town board of any incorporated town to levy a tax of six-tenths of a mill (in 1903 raised to a mill) "to be used not only for the maintenance but also the establishment and enlargement of a library." The law provided further that any library which had earlier been established under any library law of the state (the already existing city, town, and township libraries, for example) might be transferred to municipal control in accordance with the terms of the 1901 statute.

Thus encouraged by state law and by the bounty of Andrew Carnegie, the public library system of the state entered upon an era of dramatic expansion. Just five years following the passage of the act of 1901, Jacob P. Dunn noted the dimensions of the expansion which had already taken place: "the number of libraries has doubled; the number of library buildings has increased tenfold; and the number of librarians with library training has increased one hundredfold."[107] The "umbrella" provision of the 1901 law permitting already established libraries to adopt its provisions resulted in the growth of library facilities for both urban and rural readers, the former through the increase in the number of town and city libraries, and the latter through the expansion of the township library system.

A third law passed during this period may or may not have been considered a "good" one by the writer quoted earlier but it must be noted because of its ultimate significance. The 1917 session of the General Assembly passed a County Library law which was described in the state Year Book for that year "as the most important event of the year for Indiana library conditions." The law was important because it represented a "victory" for the concept being accepted by increasing numbers of men and women that truly "universal library service in the state would never be a possibility under the township plan and that such service would be at least possible through county library systems."[108] The 1917 law permitted county commissioners in counties having no libraries or one or more libraries to "levy from one-tenth mill to one mill on all taxable property in the county to establish a county library." Such action by the commissioners could be taken voluntarily on their part or they could be "compelled to take said action by a petition signed by twenty-five resident freeholders of each township in the county." However they were originated, the county libraries were to be administered by a 7-member board, three of whose members would be appointed by the circuit court judge, two by the

county commissioners, and two by the county superintendent of schools. The county law went into effect on July 1, 1917 and there began immediately the long series of "hard fought contests" and "spirited campaigns" out of which 20 county systems were to be created by World War II.[109] Despite the fact that during the 1920's "Indiana county libraries were being publicized all over the country," there was only grudging acceptance of the "larger units" by people who cherished the township systems or could see little need for the added taxation involved in adopting the county systems.

It was a combination, then, of "good laws" - the Acts of 1899, 1901, and 1917 -, the bounty of the Carnegie program, and the "guidance and care" provided by organizations such as the literary societies, the State Library, the Public Library Commission, the Indiana Library Association and others, that helped transform Indiana's library system in little more than a generation. Jacob P. Dunn's rather pessimistic (but no doubt accurate) appraisal given in 1893 may be contrasted, as a case in point, with a report published by the United States Bureau of Education in 1931 which noted the "remarkable expansion of Indiana's libraries." A chart which accompanied the report revealed that there were "31 libraries in Indiana with 5,000 or more volumes in 1891, 35 in 1896, 50 in 1900, 60 in 1903, 97 in 1913, 136 in 1923, and 180 in 1929."[110] Statistics published in the Indiana Year Book during the period varied somewhat from those published by the Bureau of Education, but, if anything, they suggest an even greater achievement in Indiana's library growth. In 1918 the Year Book listed 194 "free, tax-supported" libraries, 213 in 1925, 220 in 1930, and 222 in 1935. In the Public Library Commission survey for 1901 roughly 500,000 volumes were reported in the state's public libraries; in 1917 that number had risen to 1,695,901; it was to reach nearly 3,000,000 before the onslaught of the Great Depression.

The impact of the Depression and World War II has been suggested earlier

in this essay but that impact may be recalled by noting that the completion of South Bend's Spiro Public Library in 1959 "marked the first construction of a large main public library building in nearly thirty years in the state of Indiana."[111] At the same time, the past generation has been a crucial one in the history of the state's libraries. Unquestionably the most important legislation affecting them was the Public Library Act passed by the 1947 session of the General Assembly. Designed to "eliminate obsolete laws, and to simplify and improve the hundred-years' accumulation of public library laws" the 1947 law was said, at the time of its passage, to "protect existing libraries but set a modern pattern for future library development."[112] The law called for "discontinuing the effect of all existing laws with respect to the establishment of public libraries hereafter," and "in order to clarify the status of libraries" created "two classes of libraries," "ClassI," to be composed of libraries created under the terms of the 1947 law or already existing libraries which chose to convert to its provisions, and "Class II," to include libraries governed by school trustees or school commissioners, those which were privately endowed, township libraries, "and libraries in cities having a population of 100,000 or more" according to the "last preceding United States census."[113] The effect of the law, a recent student of library legislation concluded, was to "strip ... all the subdivisions [of the state] except the municipality and the county of their power to establish a library" on the grounds that only cities and counties, "having a wider tax base, might build better and larger collections." Subdivisions other than the municipality and the county (chiefly school districts and townships) were permitted "to continue to maintain libraries under the old laws" but "none may establish a public library de novo," and by December, 1967, of the total of 246 libraries in the state 227 of them were created under or had converted to the provisions of the 1947 law, and most of the remainder had adopted all but the "compulsory provision of the 1947 Act."[114] The law provided for uniform procedures and powers for

the states' public library boards, including their powers to employ head librarians, levy taxes in their units "in an amount of not less than five cents nor more than thirty-seven cents on each one hundred dollars of taxable property," and undertake legally binding contracts which may lead to the consolidation of library service areas within a county and to the creation of inter-county service areas. In short, the 1947 law pointed in the direction of a state library system which would rest upon the revenues made possible by urban populations or by county-wide (and even inter-county) resources.

As it turned out the "good laws" of the Carnegie era and the "modern pattern" of the 1947 law (and its amendments) have given Hoosiers interested in libraries some grounds for pride of accomplishment combined with a profound sense of frustration and disappointment. "Hoosiers like books," the Indiana History Bulletin informed its readers in 1952, and, to prove its contention, it cited an American Library Association study which indicated that with 5,519,035 volumes in their libraries, a population of about 4,000,000 Hoosiers circulated 15,749,940 volumes, roughly 4.5 volumes per person. The statistics, used in comparison with other states in the region, led the Bulletin to conclude that "Indiana's reputation as a library state seems well-founded. Besides the large number of authors it has produced, it obviously has a much larger than average reading public."[115] Certain statistics compiled and published annually by the Indiana State Library suggest growth in several key indexes: tax receipts for libraries rose from $2,651,192 in 1947 to $15,766,657 in 1967; the total number of volumes in Indiana Libraries increased from 6,400,000 volumes in 1953 to 9,700,000 during the same period; salaries for library staffs grew from $1,367,854 in 1947 to $8,280,681 in 1967; expenditures for books and magazines rose from $495,531 to $2,823,093 during the same twenty year period; and the number of "county libraries" had been enlarged from 25 in 1949 to 42 in 1967.[116]

At the same time, other statistics concerning Indiana's public libraries are cause for concern, indeed, for alarm. At the end of December, 1967, in a population of 4,662,498 (1960 census) 566,449 (12.1%) of the population did not have direct access to a public library. In a 14-year period (1953-1967) the number of such people without direct access to a public library had been reduced from 21.7% to 12.1% of the total population but at the end of that period, "of the 1,009 townships in Indiana 595 [were] totally served, 39 [were] partially served, leaving 375 townships, or 37.2% without any library service."[117] Testimony given to the "State Legislative Committee to Study the Library Needs of the State" in 1966 supported the position that "the public libraries in Indiana are in great need of improvement." Specifically, the committee was told that the "permissive legislation permitting county wide library districts has done virtually nothing" and that "mandatory county-wide library systems should be established." Witnesses told the committee also that, because "the library district does not coincide with the school district, ... a child will often go to school near a public library but not be able to borrow a book from that library" and that "many businesses must provide their own libraries since the public libraries do not have the services they need."[118] That such "specialized services" to business were limited was perhaps understandable in light of the fact that nearly a third of the state's libraries "received less than $10,000 income from all sources in 1967" and 14 of them had "less than $2,500 total income."

The paradox of "progress and poverty" which is suggested by the history of Indiana's public library system is useful also when the libraries of its educational system are considered. Libraries have been considered an integral part of Indiana's public school system since its inception in the middle of the 19th century. A writer in the Indiana School Journal in 1892 seemed to fear no contradiction in stating that "it is now generally understood among intelligent and progressive teachers that a good school library is absolutely indispensable

and that something must be done in most schools to supplement the work of the trustee or school board in the purchase of books."[119] Several generations of "intelligent and progressive" teachers have worked to strengthen the school libraries by raising the training and licensing requirements for librarians, by securing greater funds, and by giving "library science" a respected place in the curricula of the state's colleges and universities. And despite marked achievements in all these areas, professional librarians in general and school librarians in particular have remained gravely concerned about the condition of the state's school libraries. A survey taken of the state's 857 high schools in 1935 claimed that the "schools of Indiana have made progress" but disclosed statistics showing that among the school "librarians" only 21 had "full-time license, library science," 5 had "part-time license, library science," 10 had "one year library science, no license," 59 had "some training, less than 10 semester hours," and 340 had "no library training."[120] The extensive report of the "Comprehensive Study of the Public Elementary and Secondary Schools of Indiana" which appeared in 1949 noted that "a marked improvement has occurred over a period of years," and then qualified that estimate by declaring that "many of the high schools of Indiana are too small to provide ... essential library services" and that there was "far too little money spent in the township schools for library purposes." The evidence, the Report stated, "warrants the conclusion that the average school library in Indiana is entirely inadequate, particularly in the township schools and in the smaller city and town schools."[121]

It is true that some of the conditions which existed at the time of the above report have been remedied or altered in the past 20 years, in a part as a result of Indiana's school consolidation movement and in part by quantitative and qualitative changes in areas such as funding and professional librarianship. None-

theless, the state's school libraries came in for their share of criticism in a survey of the teaching of American history in the state's schools which appeared in 1964, a survey which attracted national attention, some of which "caused a bit of indignation to rise up in many [of the state's school librarians] ."[122] Moreover, in testimony given to the state legislative committee studying the library needs of the state in 1966 "the committee was told that over half the elementary schools in the state have no library facilities at all," and that "in secondary schools, where librarians are even more important than in elementary schools, only about 20% of the libraries ... meet the standards of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools." "The education of the librarians," the committee was told, "is inadequate to completely non-existent in most of Indiana's colleges and universities." The undergraduate and graduate degrees in library science given in several of the state's colleges and universities do not accommodate the demand for men and women with such degrees, a point underscored recently by the president of the Indiana School Librarians Association who noted "a great number of schools in the state which do not have a librarian because ... school librarians rank close to the top among specialists who are in critical shortage." The statement, made in 1967, cited a "recent survey" among Indiana school superintendents, 253 of whom "listed 99 school library positions which were unfilled."[123]

It was noted earlier in this essay that sectarian and secular zeal for founding and promoting colleges and universities has been an important factor in rounding out the library system of Indiana. The census of 1850 listed four college libraries with only 8700 volumes and the beginning of genuine growth in the size of the college libraries corresponded roughly with what is called, for the purposes of this essay, the "modern" period (i.e., the 1890's to the present). Indiana University's library in 1870 "contained more than five thousand volumes which are available to the students," according to the State Superintendent of Public Instruc-

tion, who cited that figure with pride but reported also that most of the other college libraries were "small and of but little value."[124] By the turn of the century, however, the "library spirit" had invaded the college and university campuses and a survey conducted by the Public Library Commission in 1911 revealed that "the six largest libraries in Indiana [were] : Indianapolis public, 150,539 volumes; Indiana University 75,000 volumes; Notre Dame University 70,000 volumes; Indiana State Library 54,081 volumes; Indiana State Normal 48,635 volumes; and Wabash College 45,000 volumes."[125] Indiana has, of course, shared in the college and university student population "explosion" since World War I and one of the indexes of that fact has been the proliferation and expansion of colleges and college libraries. A short sample makes the point: Indiana University's library holdings on the Bloomington campus grew from 282,656 volumes in 1935 to 1,889,874 in 1967; Notre Dame's collection was increased from 70,140 volumes in 1935 to 862,276 in 1967; during the same period DePauw's holdings rose from 86,982 to 272,021 volumes; and similar samples may be secured almost at random in the statistics compiled by the Indiana State Library. While it is a source of some concern to both university officials and to public librarians, it is nonetheless a fact that many of the state's college libraries "try to serve as community libraries as well since the community libraries are not adequate." They are, to a degree, then, "part of the public library system of the state," a status acknowledged by the librarians of Indiana and Purdue universities in a 1967 article in which the authors commented on the "strong and appropriate library support" received by the "separate academic disciplines at Purdue and Indiana" and pointed out that "while this support means most to the faculty and students of the two institutions, it has also provided the citizen in professional life with a tremendous resource for his own research. Both libraries are 'state libraries' available to all key groups among the citizens and well-known and used as such by them."[126]

VII

Over a period of three-quarters of a century the "care, attention, and guidance" called for by Jacob P. Dunn in 1893 have given Indiana a promising library system, composed in its main parts of "public" libraries funded chiefly by taxation at one of several local levels of government, elementary and secondary school libraries, and college and university libraries (the largest of which are, generally speaking, publicly funded). The total legacy of the past to the present library system is curiously mixed. Generations of Hoosiers have articulated a belief in libraries as essential to the preservation of the Republic, guardians against ignorance and illiteracy, safeguards against public immorality, agencies through which aesthetic values and appreciation may be inculcated and preserved, and the means by which men and women may promote their own and society's material interests. It is not an attribution of insincerity to either our ancestors or our contemporaries (who have had, after all, to establish priorities) to note that, considering the overriding importance which has been attached to them, the libraries of the state have only rarely been adequately funded.

A more or less constant problem in the past, the funding of library services in the future promises to be a challenge of even greater magnitude. Today's "knowledge explosion" tends to make the knowledge acquired in formal education obsolete, or at least in need of revision and updating, in a very short time. One hears young Ph.D's in science, scarcely out of graduate school, lamenting the difficulty involved in keeping pace with the fantastic (and rapid) changes occurring in their fields. In such circumstances, the library's traditional role as an agency of "continuing education" seems likely to be enlarged. If, as appears certain, the leisure time of our society increases, libraries will be expected to share in providing the means by which such time can be spent in individually and socially useful ways. (It may be recalled that during the Great Depression, when people had "time on their

hands," many of them gravitated to their local libraries for "something to do.") Finally, one can confidently expect that in the future an "educated electorate" will continue to be one of society's critical needs and that all our agencies of culture - libraries, as well as schools, churches, the "media" - will be called upon for even more effective services to prevent our people, as Governor Noble put it a century and a half ago, "for the want of a knowledge of the principles of our government, not fully appreciating its blessings, becoming instruments in the hands of demagogues and tyrants."

FOOTNOTES

1. Indiana History Bulletin, XLI (November, 1964), p. 154.

2. United States Seventh Census: 1850 (Washington, 1853), p. 780.

3. Donald F. Carmony (ed.), Indiana A Self-Appraisal (Bloomington, 1966), pp. 3-14.

4. Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought (New York, 1964), pp. 205-335.

5. Richard G. Boone, A History of Education in Indiana (New York, 1892), p. 76.

6. Daniel S. Robinson, "Indiana's Cultural Heritage," Indiana Magazine of History, XXXIV (June, 1938), p. 153.

7. Howard H. Peckman, "What Made Hoosiers Write," Indiana History Bulletin, XXV (December, 1948), p. 242.

8. Boone, Education in Indiana, p. 238.

9. Library Occurrent, IV (April, 1917), p. 168.

10. Library Occurrent, VIII (April-June, 1928), p. 208.

11. Library Occurrent, XIII (April-June, 1941), p. 293.

12. Focus on Indiana Libraries, XXII (June, 1968), pp. 62-63.

13. Library Occurrent, III (June, 1912), pp. 40-41.

14. Library Occurrent, III (December, 1913), pp. 152-153

15. Library Occurrent, IV (October, 1916), pp. 138-139.

16. Indianapolis Star, March 14, 1915.

17. Dorothy Riker and Gayle Thornbrough (eds.), Messages and Papers Relating to the Administration of James Brown Ray Governor of Indiana 1825-1831 (Indianapolis, 1954), pp. 183-184.

18. Dorothy Riker and Gayle Thornbrough (eds.), Messages and Papers Relating to the Administration of Noah Noble Governor of Indiana 1831-1837 (Indianapolis, 1958), p. 143.

19. Vincennes Gazette, February 12, 1842.

20. Peckham, "What Made Hoosiers Write," Indiana Magazine of History, XXV, pp. 241-242.

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22. Library Occurrent, XI (July-September, 1933), p. 79.

23. Library Occurrent, XIV (July-September, 1942), p. 92.

24. Library Occurrent, XVII (March, 1952), p. 145; XVIII (March, 1956), p. 195.

25. Library Occurrent, XIX (June, 1957), p. 28.

26. Library Occurrent, XX (June, 1961), p. 159; (September, 1961), pp. 183-185.

27. Library Occurrent, IV (July, 1917), p. 220; (October, 1917), p. 228.

28. Library Occurrent, XVII (June, 1951), p. 47.

29. Library Occurrent, XIV (October-December, 1944), p. 332.

30. Library Occurrent, V (April, 1918), p. 35.

31. Library Occurrent, XX (June, 1962), p. 274.

32. Library Occurrent, XXII (May, 1967), p. 148.

33. J. Robert Constantine (ed.), "The Vincennes Library Company: A Cultural Institution in Pioneer Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History, LXII (June, 1966), pp. 121-154.

34. Library Occurrent, X (July-September, 1931), p. 132.

35. Italics added.

36. Year Book of the State of Indiana 1935 (Indianapolis, 1936), p. 378.

37. Library Occurrent, XI (April-June, 1933), p. 67; (April-June, 1935), p. 343.

38. Library Occurrent, XI (April-June, 1933), pp. 60, 64, 65.

39. Curti, Growth of American Thought, pp. 250-284.

40. Boone, Education in Indiana, pp. 104-105.

41. A much fuller account of contemporary descriptions of Indiana culture is found in the excellent monograph by Richard Lyle Power, Planting Corn Belt Culture (Indianapolis, 1953), pp. 26, 35, 77-86.

42. Clarence E. Carter, "William Clarke, First Chief Justice of Indiana Territory," Indiana Magazine of History, XXXIV (March, 1938), pp. 8-13.

43. See, e.g., the issue of July 20, 1811.

44. The surviving records of this library were published by Constantine (ed.), "The Vincennes Library Company: A Cultural Institution in Pioneer Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History, LXI, LXII, LXIII (1965-1967).

45. R. Carlyle Buley, The Old Northwest Pioneer Period 1815-1840, 2 vols. (Indianapolis, 1950), II, p. 566.

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57. Boone, Education in Indiana, p. 350.

58. Kilpela, "Indiana Library Legislation," p. 160.

59. Indiana School Journal, XI (November, 1866), p. 388-389.

60. Superintendent of Public Instruction, Fifth Annual Report, 1857, p. 37.

61. Superintendent of Public Instruction, Eighth Annual Report, 1859, p. 17.

62. Superintendent of Public Instruction, Eighteenth Annual Report, 1870, p. 160.

63. Harvey W. Wiley, "The Education of a Backwoods Hoosier," Indiana Magazine of History, XXIV (June, 1928), pp. 82-83.

64. John W. Bookwalter, "The Farmer's Isolation and the Remedy," The Forum, XII (September, 1891 - February, 1892), p. 60.

65. Jacob P. Dunn, "Township Libraries," Indiana School Journal, XXXVII (April, 1892), p. 201.

66. Indiana School Journal, XI (November, 1866), p. 389.

67. Superintendent of Public Instruction, Eighteenth Annual Report, 1870, p. 160.

68. Indiana School Journal, XXXIII (July, 1888), p. 408.

68a. Boone, Education in Indiana, p. 341-342, "While it was originally intended, as the wording of the law implies, to provide one library for each township, section 141, as passed, required the distribution of ten libraries to counties having a population of 15,000 inhabitants and upward; eight libraries to counties whose population was from 10,000 to 15,000; and in counties of less than 10,000 inhabitants, six libraries. It is obvious that while the distribution was meant to be equitable as to population, it was far from uniform as to townships. In seven counties only were the number of libraries, under the first distribution, and the number of townships the same. Ten counties had each more libraries than townships, and eight more libraries than all school corporations, including, besides townships, incorporated towns and cities. In seventy counties they averaged less than one to each township. For the State, 690 libraries were distributed to 938 townships. Incorporated towns and cities were generally ignored, except as they might be made convenient places of deposit for the including township."

69. Public Libraries in the United States of America, Part I, 1876 (University of Illinois, Graduate School of Library Science, Monograph Series, No. 4), p. 47.

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73. Julia Henderson Levering, Historic Indiana (New York, 1909), p. 262.

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75. Public Libraries ... 1876, p. 454.

76. McBride, Maclure Libraries, p. 17.

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80. Winthrop Talbot, Adult Illiteracy (Washington, 1916), pp. 12-13.

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89. Library Occurrent, XVI (December, 1950), p. 362.

90. Library Occurrent, May, 1906, p. 11.

91. Library Occurrent, February, 1907, p. 2.

92. Library Occurrent, XVIII (December, 1956), p. 258. Italics added.

93. Library Occurrent, April, 1906, p. 1.

94. Library Occurrent, December, 1907, p. 15.

95. Library Occurrent, April, 1906, p. 8.

96. Library Occurrent, VIII (July-September, 1928), p. 265.

97. Florence Anderson, Carnegie Corporation Library Program 1911-1961 (New York, 1963), p. 4.

98. Ibid., pp. 35-39.

99. Library Occurrent, XII (January, 1936), p. 11.

100. Year Book of the State of Indiana 1920, p. 405.

101. Library Occurrent, II (December, 1910), p. 167; Year Book of the State of Indiana 1930, p. 205.

102. Library Occurrent, XII (January-March, 1936), pp. 11-12.

103. Library Occurrent, V (October, 1919), p. 246.

104. Indiana School Journal, XXXVII (July, 1892), p. 438; XXXIX (March, 1894), p. 177.

105. Indiana Library Law 1899 and Rules of the Public Library Commission, pp. 5-7.

106. Library Occurrent, II (December, 1909), p. 98.

107. Department of Public Instruction Twenty Third Annual Report, 1906, p. 64.

108. Library Occurrent, IV (April, 1917), pp. 168-169.

109. Library Occurrent, XIII (April, 1941), pp. 291-293.

110. Library Occurrent, X (July, 1931), p. 132.

111. Library Occurrent, XX (June, 1960), p. 50

112. Library Occurrent, XV (December, 1946), p. 555.

113. The Public Library Law of 1947 (Extension Division, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis), pp. 5-6.

114. Statistics of Indiana Libraries 1967, p. 1.

115. Indiana History Bulletin, XXIX (March, 1952), p. 47.

116. Year Book of the State of Indiana 1950, p. 1043; Statistics of Indiana Libraries 1967, p. 5.

117. Statistics of Indiana Libraries 1967, p. 1.

118. Focus on Indiana Libraries, XX (June, 1966), pp. 29-30.

119. Indiana School Journal, XXXVII (November, 1892), p. 737.

120. Library Occurrent, XII (July, 1936), p. 60.

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122. Hoosier School Libraries, IV (February, 1965), p. 18.

123. Focus on Indiana Libraries, XX (October, 1967), p. 5.

124. Superintendent of Public Instruction, 18th Annual Report 1870 (Indianapolis, 1870), pp. 77-127.

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The Indiana Library Studies

The Indiana Library Studies represent the first statewide exploration of Indiana libraries of all types and of the library and information needs of Indiana's citizens. A federally funded research project of the Indiana State Library, the Studies are directed by Dr. Peter Hiatt, Consultant to the Indiana State Library and Associate Professor of Indiana University's Graduate Library School. Guidance for the project and advice on the reports have been provided by the Indiana Library Studies Advisory Committee:

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This report has been submitted to the following:

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